1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had a very different environment from those of the tree-filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 554 622 [184 541] A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 ●262 The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats [825] (č·´mčem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a [184] Kechayi informant denied the practice for her people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it [252] was scarce in the tular). This was called tap:si, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´p:s. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´h:s. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´ṭanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´s:p, the flesh). Abalones (ṭo´n:k) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did [147] before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 75.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word ṭo´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɨt ṭomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɨn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɨn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɨn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɨn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

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were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lːts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nːts; from towo´´o, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´inː) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hohe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´ṭat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (ṭolo´hono); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
●262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´:n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (taṭaho ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´:ts ken:ts).[58]

The tarantula (ṭu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[192 [58]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
828] there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and aleṭe´´:ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´:ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to'ntom si'lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me'tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai''yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta'ṭaiṭa'ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[152] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka'l ta·ka'l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite'-t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko'ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo'toi'i. A small lizard (wile'li) and
773 another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o'ho ma ṭ‹'pni; wile'li t‹'pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi'y‹ nan pu'ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao'siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po''ol‹lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we'tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa'na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi''‹tawat. The bullfrog was called a'oi'‹ts by the Tachi, but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 825 Two unrecognizable creatures were described by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 823] If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 262 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56] A Palliguewap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tütic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Toxelyuwich, west	
ka ʻnkas:	crow
su ʻhup:	hawk
lːmːk:	prairie falcon
o ʻčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ʻhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokto ʻklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyotʼwat:	frog (small)
oʼo ʻyːts:	frog (large)
ma ʻčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ʻhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ʻyu:	coyote
weṭi ʻṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ʻlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ʻli:	"screech" owl
pohoʻʼot [sic]:	weasel
pohoʻʼot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ʻnul:	wildcat
a ʻdza:	fox

[773]

[67] Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68] Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69] All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70] Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She
[237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance;
534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part
[752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to
796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas,
616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new
[824] crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyuwich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

796 J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with
[262] salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P-48a] Palpuyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (t'ɨ'pnɨm; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell
[262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49d] Tulamni

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very large squares, the families divided from each
361 other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.---A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.---Pages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Pages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Pages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Pages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
[262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: ło'koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi'yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi'dːt; duwe'sːp, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo'kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.---Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad), lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the seaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by [263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times [412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´p:s); minnows [?] (ta´k:č), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´t:č); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´w:s); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

222 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[197] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[263 191] [197] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
● 262 put in a basket to boil. They were later
222 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'iĕŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɛtski´ăa (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 252 262 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going out to clover patches in the spring and there directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[m] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waña´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

222 262 A´ṗṭu (manzanita berries) were used only for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake *all the fruit to the ground* rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve
262 basket over a large watertight coiled basket and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

313 *The load of wood was held on the back by*
482 means of a tumpline. This passed over the upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171]

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773 825] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu'ši:t) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyi:t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a'dwi:ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko'widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
782 the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
posal was made of the carcass, according to
432 this informant, a statement which I have always thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
782 eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
539 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
432 all the chief's relatives would gather to pay for their totem; a winatum called them to come. All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural home. As he did this he said, "tuñdi ta po'dta ma tup:nita" (? ? you go up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
782 cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
432 called his people to pay for it. The coyote lay on a blanket, the people threw down their strings of money over it, and cried. If the hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone having deer as poša (though he could be a dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other birds. No person killed or ate any portion of his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Mewes, 592 ff.

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´n:č, and another known mother, Tu´n:č. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonoč:m was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonoč:m. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonoč:m were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonoč:m were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

[754] J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

[P. 1189] Wukchumni

5335- 5. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
262 (taña´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
276 in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an
276 insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra supernatural power might take it each year, or
787 every few years, provided he observed the usual
276 tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers [603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[368] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[368] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

[P. 1196] Wukchumni

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
884 that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
● [262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anŝi's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 783 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, [285 171] deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The [465 431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 613] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. [237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 [262] Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

668 The dance was called soto·'tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from en-
circling camps provided light. Singers wear-
ing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at
one side. They used no instruments. (J.B.
thought "some people to the north used clappers
and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.")
The singers were not paid, but their food and
fire were provided by winatums from various
visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all
used red and white face paint.[265] Red paint was
not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night.
During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches.
He said, "God made all this land. The dead
people are coming if we dance this dance. They
dance this dance all the time where they [the
dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went
to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from
meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on
one occasion some dogs were killed "because
their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]."
The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and
Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that
all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
came down and sang songs about the annihilation
of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Awahsi]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Micha-
hai claims were said to run west and southward
from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge
with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The
following localities P.M. pointed out from the
height of his hilltop and I later identified
them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quad-
rangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai
361 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
103

1. tolsi'hao (Michahai)
2. takša'myu (Michahai)
3. buči'h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o'to
5. bo'kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto'no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[265] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 146 a] Choinimni

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 524] know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns,
262 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Wakasachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.154 9] Dumna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

> There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.
>
> From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

> "He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1559] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the [574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mːs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
●262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tːl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nːt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanːt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pːč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mːs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pːs [262] (lake trout), poi´yom (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hːt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čː´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yːn) at bedrock 412 mortars (tinːl), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nːm (ti´pːn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gon. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kːlao, pipe of cane [sikːl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wːš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.---The rabbitskin 281 blanket (xeu´či; cexː´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wːč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

[P. 164 b] Kechayi

616 ulu·´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit:´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š:t:
cougar
ki·´či:
raccoon
te´p:š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx:l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´´:l:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´nai´ew:ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š:n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p:n:
acorn mush
li´m:n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n:t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l:s:
a seed

naho´´o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´´ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h:t:
salmon
ma´m:l:
blackberries
kisi´´:n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each
● 262 moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had
616 killed but could eat the meat from some other (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

226 616 796 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 616 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ɬč) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part. [252]

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (lim·n) diet for twelve days.

Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta ´ow·č ano ˇša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu ´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku ´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 198 b] Chuckchansi

[252 B51] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking [823] stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was [562] the next, and the third or last layer. The first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." (Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.) They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home
224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now.
[252] Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it.[67] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could
[253] get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[67] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

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252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type [222 was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to M.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock (sic). Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; those black all over are "no good." The nuts [224 286] were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [441] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[50] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[51] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[50] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[51] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San
[484 Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 322 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

[262 252 171]

415 322 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 324 Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said M.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used for cooking larvae and worms.[110]

[412 322]

Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

[237]

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 192 a] Chuckchansi

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [164] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. 323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba''om, the pipe Yokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

● 262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834 171] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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846 852 783 women relatives of the man's family did the same for the wife's attendants (mother and sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

[292] [835 237]

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place. 431 846 852 783 The young mother's family had assembled quantities of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth, e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[178]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[269]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

W Y 222 262 Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·'pa·dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po'dos) the tall blossom buds (o'b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Y W [252] W Y [462] 251

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone'diw², Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481] W Y 262 252

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y [439]

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te'wa. They were superior to the local variety.

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

Acorns.---Pine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

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[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 223 9] Western Mono NS25

W 252 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone
W 262 and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on
W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered
[251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.---The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were
Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained;
W granite was never used. The mush basket was
[285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes
Y were removed from the water and served from a
W big tray. They were eaten "just that way."
[263] A plant called paša was used to flavor acorn much.

Ya''ap.---This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.---This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.---A bee (?) called in English "big
Y stick bee" (ta'beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited
[237] honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.---These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.---The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki'puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke'wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 223b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 262 [252]

lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo'ti, antelope, e'bis, lake trout.

W Y 262 192 136

Animals:

tuhu'ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo'ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u'nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu'bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu'huza'giti tuhu'bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša'buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka'wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a'otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru'nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu'ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta'bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te'ś wa: cottontail rabbit

to'hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi'jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho''ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko'no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a'čk:t: mole; no one ate

ga'wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·'pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·'bük: beaver

naha''ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa': eagle; chief's totem

kini': duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša'ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik:'digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutxai'ya: buzzard; no one ate

we'ja: condor; no one ate

hutu''du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa''aga: crow

ka'rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či·au'wi: another kind of blackbird

o'ščo'ěč: magpie

hai'hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai'go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·'pna: flicker; old people ate

hara'ki: old people ate

'pana'tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro'ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·'čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

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Y
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čuču'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini'ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu'mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'i'na: Oregon junco
muči'uoi'na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti't:š: Audubon warbler?
so'o'wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho'mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či'p:t: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi''ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara'rapa: kingfisher
šo'šo': little green heron
wa'k:ts: blue crane
ko'd:to: sand-hill crane
ka'hi: grouse
kura'vi: duck (kind?)
la'la: geese
huihui'mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai'ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü'y:m: fly
čokoi''ica: wasp
pe'na: yellow jacket
hu'biwa: bumble bee
naraposta'pe'na: hornet
ta'beko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu'n:p: tarantula
mu'ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu'lu: brown lizard
kumče'ča: black lizard
wasu''i: a large "brush" lizard
musi'gi: rattlesnake
paso'go: water snake
kolo'lki: King snake
o'koko: bullfrog
kuai'aki: a small frog
a'natza'na: water dog
ta'l:m: speckled trout
e'bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po'lhoi: sucker
aiya'go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai'h:t: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta'k:ts: minnows
a'ñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue'dop^a: valley oak
ya'kap^a: post oak
wi''up^a: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša'ba: live oak
tikai'ya: acorns of all oak species
a'psoab^a: manzanita
to'nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no'jib^i: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso'poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo'haba: "Jack" pine
pane'wan:p: sugar pine
pone'diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu'bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa'dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b': yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b:p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't:p: slippery elm
napa''ap': alder
soho'p': cottonwood
tanapo'nip': ash
pa'sitap: willow
s'hu'b': small willow
se''nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

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NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

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DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

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The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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tun in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again. 344

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic. 262

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains inhabited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions. 137 222 262

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot summer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 222 262 132 222 262

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leaching has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

●262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor en-
171 vironment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar [redacted] usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

[415 324] Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 88.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left behind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp; 609 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range 648 of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of 648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus- [262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of [181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far 184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

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[p. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of [482] acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs [462] of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[462] When the ahnguah was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[Text continues on p. 107]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 N529 Yokuts N529

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds.

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Netunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed, called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead.

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellant. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly [231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim*, an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid*.

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much*. It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 [412] In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk*.

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon.

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary.

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house.

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn.* Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

159 The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the ● 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tĕss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 777 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest [152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802 192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no'-eh.	pūng'-o-eh.	poan'-oikh.
Three.	so'-pin.	so-o'-pin.	so-o'-pin.
Four.	ha'-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih'.	ha-to-poan'-oikh.
Five.	yit'-sen-it.	yi-tsing'-ut.	yi-tsin'-et.
Six.	cha'-lip-eh.	chu'-di-peh.	tso'-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm'-chil.	noam'-chin.	noam'-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas'.	mu'-nūsh.	mu'-nus.
Nine.	se'-po-noat.	no'-nip.	so'-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi'-oh.	ti'-i-hoh.	ti'-i-hoh.

805 192 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo'-a, Po'-ni-o, So'-pi[illegible] Hots'-po, Ya'-ti-so, Chol'-po, Hu-lo'-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence 757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they [304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little [308] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *haï'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *haï'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintûn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tulare* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorata*) and waterfowl were important resources.

In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynocos to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutumutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ognost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischus, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ridges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer

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769 meat, venison (*venados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
● 262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.][a]

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [361] the Chiechas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women [437] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chiecha nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

[a] It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiye?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; *cf.* W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

*161 discussion of the population about 1850. It is preferable to discuss the entire region as a unit and, when necessary, pass to indirect methods of estimate.

The Pitkachi on the San Joaquin are mentioned in 1806 by Moraga, who allows 200 persons to their rancheria. The tribe appears again in the baptism record of Soledad Mission (MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley) according to which 205 Indians from "Picatche" were baptized from 1821 to 1824 and another 18 in 1831. An additional 23 came from rancherias in the vicinity, a total of 246. Another rancheria, Capicha, is referred to by Pico in 1815, who said it was uninhabited at that time, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. As late as 1853 Wessels said that the Pitcache, together with the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, numbered 500 to 600 souls. Kroeber mentions three villages remembered by modern informants.

If 246 Indians were baptized in one mission, the tribe as a whole must have numbered at least four times as many, or 1,000. If two fair-sized rancherias are mentioned by the Spanish observers, the entire tribe may well have possessed four or five, which again implies a population of 1,000. If there were approximately 300 survivors in 1853, by comparison with other open valley areas the original population must have been fully three or four times as great, or perhaps 1,200. If three rancherias were known to modern informants, they must formerly have been important places with anywhere from 200 to 400 people, again indicating a total of 1,000 for the tribe.

Concerning the Hoyima there are two references, one by Pico in 1826 and one by Rodriguez in 1828. Pico states merely that he attacked the rancheria and captured 40 gentiles and 1 Christian, a fact which in itself would not furnish a very significant clue to population. He also noted "mucha guesamenta y cueros casi frescos de caballada que habian matado."

The account by Rodriguez is more circumstantial. This soldier went along the San Joaquin River in late April of 1828. On the 24th he sent a group of men to scout the "rancheria de los Joyimas, que es adonde an comido la caballada." At dawn the next day they attacked the village, "que estaba en medio de los dos brazos del rio" (the San Joaquin west or northwest of Fresno). He captured 26 Indians and 27 animals (horses). Another 60 or 80 horses escaped "en el monte." At about this time a gentile captain came from a rancheria designated Guche or Getche, depending upon how one deciphers the handwriting of the manuscript. He "vino a los Joyimas a comer caballo." The rancheria named here is probably that of the Heuchi on the Fresno River. This gentile said there was another rancheria "mas arriba" at which there were horses. Rodriguez sent Simeon Castro to investigate. He found no one at the rancheria mentioned but went on 3 leagues to another rancheria, likewise deserted but containing the carcasses of 100 dead horses, which had been slaughtered and were about to be eaten. It was noted by Rodriguez that: "Estas 3 rancherias son una misma que es la de los Jaimes." It was also remarked that the rancheria was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. From this account it is clear that the Joyimas had at least three villages. Allowing somewhat over 300 persons each, the population of the group would reach 1,000.

177 *161 ●268 The slaughtered horses open up an interesting field of speculation. It is clear that by 1828 large segments of the aboriginal population had entirely given up the sedentary ancestral mode of life in favor of an existence based upon stock raiding. To do this it was necessary to recast

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
262 order to catch the horses for food other horses were
essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal
settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and
new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[25] preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
[10] listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
[31] River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River. The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and
*161 are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor
*161 who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremo-
[796] nials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262]

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 778 [276] The sacred quality of tobacco [illegible] out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as [illegible] and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani· yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer story- [784] telling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa- [563] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's